Obispeño and Purisimeño Chumash

ROBERTA S. GREENWOOD

Language, Territory, and Environment

Obispeño and Purisimeño are geographic and linguistic subdivisions within the larger Chumash cultural family. These names were assigned to the two groups reflecting their attachment to the missions founded among the Indians, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa in 1772 and La Purísima Concepción in 1787. The native identities do not survive, except that Purisimeño were called *ʔaxmú* (?) by their eastern neighbors at Santa Ynez (Merriam 1966-1967, 2:252). The language spoken by the Obispeño, the most northern of all the Chumash, was quite divergent from the Central Chumash languages (including Purisimeño).

Both groups were coastal people dwelling along an exposed outer shore, although the boundaries are far from precise (fig. 1). The eastern borders of most intense occupation followed the coastal mountains along lines such as the Santa Lucia and San Rafael ranges. Inland, the border between the Chumash and the Salinans is uncertain on the Carrizo Plains—a pattern suggesting intermittent, seasonal, or special-purpose occupation. On the north, the Obispeño periphery has traditionally been drawn at Point Estero, although material remains such as quartz crystals, line sinkers, painted rocks, burial of the dead, and petroglyph sites attributed to the Chumash are archeologically demonstrable as far north as San Carpojo Creek near the Monterey County line within Salinan linguistic territory. To the south, the Purisimeño lands probably extended at least to Point Conception; certain named villages easterly along the Santa Barbara Channel sent neophytes to both La Purísima and Santa Barbara Missions.

The Obispeño and Purisimeño shared a common environment characterized by narrow coastal terraces with occasional sand dunes, small valleys, and a rocky outer shore swept by winds and fog. It is a habitat of great variety at an interface of northern and southern plant associations and warm-water and cold-water marine life, yielding an abundance of wild plant foods, land and sea mammals, fish, birds, and molluscan resources, all of which were utilized from the earliest periods.

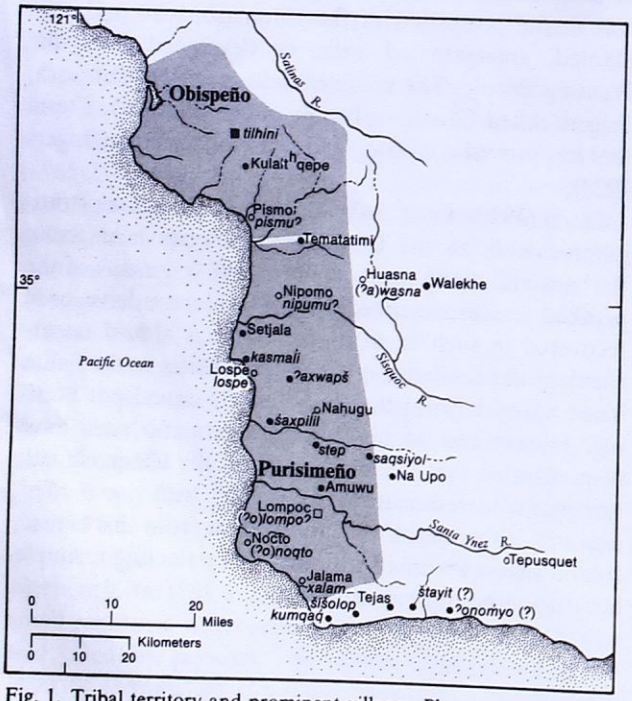


Fig. 1. Tribal territory and prominent villages. Place names indicated by open circles are still in use. Some place-names after Whitehead and Hoover 1974.

History

Both historical accounts and ethnographic studies present less evidence for this area than for the Santa Barbara Channel. There is no indication that Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's ships made a landing in San Luis Obispo County. Pedro de Unamuno entered Morro Bay in 1587, and Sebastian Cermeño visited San Luis Obispo Bay in 1595. The procession of Gaspar de Portolá traversed the area in 1769, leaving the coast north of Pismo and traveling overland to Morro Bay. Father Juan Crespí reported seeing no houses whatever, although 60 Indians greeted them with a gruel made of roasted seeds (Engelhardt 1933:7). Lt. Pedro Fages came to the Los Osos Valley in 1772 to hunt bear. None of the diarists describes any large or populous villages such as those seen along the channel. Instead, they mention "very small towns," or small groups of Indians whom they assumed to be nomads because they did not see houses.

Since structures have been revealed by excavation, for example, a house floor 30 feet in diameter at Morro Bay within putative sight of the Portolá camp (Clemmer

1962) and "roasting pits" in the Cuyama Valley (Martin and Satow 1971), it is possible that certain villages had flourished and declined before the years of exploration. Certain named archeological sites, such as Schumacher's "Wa-le-khe" on the Santa Maria River (1875:345), do not appear among the rancherias in the records of either San Luis Obispo (Merriam 1955:201-210) or La Purísima Missions (Merriam 1968:90-92, 1970:31-39). The Chumash component of a large permanent village on the coast at Diablo Canyon has a radiocarbon date of A.D. 930 ±50, lacks historic materials altogether, and cannot be identified by any Indian name (Greenwood 1972). Comparison of the explorers' population estimates with analysis of the mission records suggests that the effects of the first European contacts on a population already falling or dispersing were detrimental even before the missions were founded.

Purisimeño Population

Rancheria	*Location*	*Houses*	*1769 Canoes*	*Population*	*1796 Population*
(ʔo)noqto	Pedernales	10	0	60	50
Silimastus	Jalama	20-30	0	150	81
šišolop	Cojo	24-50	5-6	150	150
Texa	Santa Anita	20	3	115	55
štayit (?)	Bulito	25-50	3-5	200	86
ʔonomyóʔ	Gaviota	50	7	300	164

SOURCE: Brown (1967:16-22, table 2).

By 1803 conversions in the coastal villages had already penetrated so deeply into social structures that the decaying settlements, already stricken with high mortality, were barely inhabited. The final wave of baptisms resulted in the ultimate abandonment of many villages (Brown 1967:50-51). At San Luis Obispo, none of the 23 larger rancherias (those with 15 or more baptisms) produced any new neophytes after 1804 (Merriam 1955:201-210). By 1838 the Indian population at Mission San Luis Obispo had declined from its 1803 peak of 919 to 170; at La Purísima, the 1804 peak of 1,520 had fallen to 120. In 1845 La Purísima was abandoned by all converts (Engelhardt 1908-1915, 4:151, 529, 570).

According to the Roll of 1928 compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there were no Indians living at that time who traced their descent to La Purísima Mission converts, and only four—all of mixed ancestry—who claimed to be survivors of San Luis Obispo neophytes (Kroeber and Heizer 1970:13-14). The Rolls of 1950 and 1970 do not specify tribal origin. While not all Indians did register financial claims, it is likely that those few lineal descendants who may survive demonstrate an admixture of blood and loss of their native culture and languages.

The explorers' accounts support mission statistics that suggest a difference in settlement pattern north of Point Conception. In contrast to the populous and structurally ordered villages along the channel, population density in historic times decreased toward the north. While Santa Barbara Mission listed six rancherias with more than 100 converts (two of these over 300), La Purísima had only three with more than 100 baptisms (Brown 1967:95); and the largest rancheria at San Luis Obispo (Te-ma-ta-ti-mi) contributed only 59 neophytes (Merriam 1955:208). Estimates of regional density in 1770 support the same conclusion: for the Purisimeño, 45 to 70 persons in 100 square kilometers (38.25 square miles), and for the Obispeño to the north, 25 to 45 individuals (Heizer 1960:fig. 4). Although each settlement was smaller, there probably were more of them in the north. Santa Barbara received neophytes from 93 named rancherias, whereas San Luis Obispo, with many fewer baptisms, lists 142 place names (Merriam 1955:191-210).

While most of them are unexcavated, it is significant that very incomplete surface surveys had already located 140 archeological sites by 1972 in the area between San Luis Obispo and Morro Bay bounded by the Chorro Valley and See Canyon, an average of at least one site in a square mile. Thus, the land was not always sparsely occupied and the northern Chumash may be regarded, not simply as an impoverished group on the margin of the channel climax, but as descendants of an ancient areal tradition that already embodied the multiresources adaptation of the linguistically defined family.

Culture

By the time of historical contact, witnesses agree that most of the houses were small, round, and domed, with some people apparently living in the open. There is no mention of the houses arranged in rows such as seen along the channel (Brown 1967:5). Underground dwellings were reported near Morro Bay, each a round hole roofed over with branches and large enough to hold 12 people (Wagner 1929:146-147). Archeological evidence supports observations that twin or split villages frequently existed on opposite sides of streams or other features, possibly reflecting the moiety system of native California.

Coinciding approximately with Point Conception and the southern boundary of the Purisimeño are certain shifts in material culture items. Not only was this the limit of large towns in 1770, but it also marked the northern extent of the wooden planked canoe. Cermeño had noted the tule balsa at San Luis Obispo Bay in 1595, but there is no evidence for the fragile plank vessel on the outer coast in early historic times. Font recorded that six Obispeños were escorted to Santa Barbara in 1776 to purchase two canoes with glass trade beads. These may not have been the first, since Fages men-

tioned plank canoes in the bay in 1775, but the replacement of the balsa by the wooden boat was probably not much earlier (Heizer and Massey 1953:301). Use of the canoe flourished only where shore and water conditions permitted, and its presence or absence is not regarded as a criterion for the Chumash definition.

Archeological evidence demonstrates that the Indians did exploit the marine food resources of the area back to the earliest occupation of the coast at least 9,000 years ago (Greenwood 1972). But since local conditions never favored the canoe, the people always depended more upon harvesting tidal pools and shallow waters by hand, traps, poles, nets, and ultimately the hook and line, rather than developing a deepwater finfishery. The shell fishhooks (fig. 2) of the northern coast are distinctive: a small J-shaped form typically made of mussel shell without groove, shank, barb, or knob but sometimes notched for line attachment and a larger type that is circular and commonly made from abalone, but also lacking groove, shank, or knob. The Purisimeño are credited with using salted sardines for bait and catching larger fish with hooks made from cactus spines (Wagner 1929:242).

The diagnostic Chumash projectile points of the Santa Barbara Channel came late to these provinces. The small triangular form with concave base and the small leaf shape do occur, but there was a longer survival in the north of such early forms as large stemmed and side-notched points, and possibly the atlatl. As late as 1587 Unamuno described elder-wood "javelins" with oak points hardened by fire (Wagner 1929:147). Within the food preparation inventory, the milling stones used in the earlier years tended to be either flat or shallow, rather than deeply basined as in the south. In later years, the globular stone bowl gave way to a straight-walled vessel with flaring sides and flat base and rim. Rims were occasionally grooved, scalloped, or inlaid with shell ornaments. Cordage bags, flat basketry trays, and wooden grinding troughs were also described (Wagner 1929:147, 161). A very abundant artifact is a cobble or broken rock of hand size with one or more small pits. These articles may have aided in cracking either mollusks or acorns (Harrington 1914–1915).

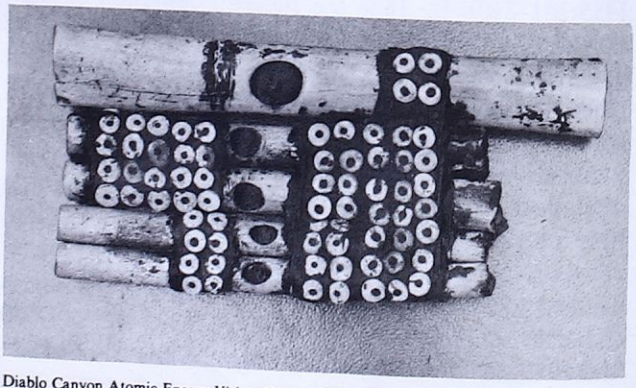
Steatite objects were less common than along the channel. Beads and ornaments paralleled southern forms, with somewhat less variety of shapes in the abalone items. Beads appear as inlays on stone vessels, bone whistles (fig. 3), and baskets. Incising occurs on bone beads, shaft straighteners, and stone tablets; and punctate designs are seen on bone beads and whistles. Clam and mussel disk beads appear later than those made from the purple olive.

Mortuary customs include cemeteries within the villages with interments positioned in seated posture, flexed on the back, or flexed on the side. Painted stone grave markers (Pilling 1951:197–198) and tablets (Engelhardt 1933:51) have been described. One individual was delegated to carry the corpse to the cemetery and open the grave; the ritual included songs, ceremonies, and a distribution of beads to all who assisted (Kroeber 1908a:17). Grave goods frequently included quantities of shell beads and ornaments, whistles, bone tubes, unmodified whole shells, slabs of stone or whale bone, lumps of pigment, as well as utilitarian items. The occurrence of these goods in differential quantities nonspecific by age or sex implies a ranked social system. When Schumacher (1875a:219) excavated 300 to 400 burials in 1874 at Kesmali (*kasmaḷi*) (Purisimeño), Nipomo (*nipumu*ʔ) and Tematatimi (Obispeño), and Walekhe



Diablo Canyon Atomic Energy Visitor Center, Pacific Gas and Electric Co., San Luis Obispo.

Fig. 2. Obispeño shell fishhooks from sites SLO-2 and SLO-51, Diablo Canyon, San Luis Obispo Co., collected 1968. Upper row: abalone circular forms. Lower row: mussel J-shaped forms, with lower right showing notched shank for line attachment. Specimens on left in each row are unfinished. Top left specimen is 3.2 cm, remainder same scale.



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Fig. 3. Obispeño five-tube bone whistle with shell beads inlaid in asphaltum. Collected at site SLO-2, Diablo Canyon, San Luis Obispo Co., 1968. Longest tube 11.2 cm.

(Interior), he considered the contents so similar that it was not necessary to attribute the items to the specific villages. He found the skeletons flexed on the back and frequently disturbed by later interments. Among the offerings were painted stone slabs, globular stone bowls with small mouths, conical pipes, a variety of small stone dishes showing traces of color, glass beads, and imported pottery.

Obispeño chiefs were said to have many wives and also the right to divorce them (Heizer 1955:149). Social rank was derived from wealth, and all made offerings of food, goods, and beads to the chief (Kroeber 1908a:17).

Items without obvious subsistence function include imperforate charmstones or plummets; quartz crystals; incised stone tablets; and single (fig. 4), paired, or multiple whistles (fig. 3) variously made of bird, coyote, or mountain lion bone. Wooden flutes are ascribed to the Obispeño (Kroeber 1908a:16). Rock-art sites occur in Purisimeño and Obispeño territory as far north as San Simeon, although less frequently than in the southern provinces. As elsewhere, they occur away from the immediate coast, apart from large or permanent villages, and suggest ritual or special purpose activities.

Although material culture items generally reflect those known on the Santa Barbara Channel, the most obvious trade relations aside from the Catalina Island steatite are with the Interior. The Obispeños supplied the Yokuts with asphaltum and the shells of abalone, clam, limpets, and periwinkle, receiving in exchange pottery and possibly obsidian (Sample 1950:4, 20). One known route passed from the coast up the Santa Maria-Cuyama river drainage to the southern San Joaquin valley (Davis 1961:map 1). The northern Chumash could also have been direct or intermediary suppliers of univalve columella ornaments, wooden dishes, and steatite vessels to the Salinans, and of shell beads, dried fish, and sea otter furs to the interior, receiving in return deerskins, acorns, and grasshoppers.



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Fig. 4. Obispeño whistles of mountain lion bone with abalone inlays. Collected at site SLO-2, Diablo Canyon, San Luis Obispo Co., 1968. Length shown 26.3 cm.

Archeological evidence verifies not only that the number of Indians was rapidly decimated by missionization, but also that the culture itself disintegrated rapidly. The decline was not a uniform process; at La Purísima, chipped-stone artifacts related to male activities such as hunting, skin dressing, and weapon manufacture disappeared rapidly from the barracks assemblage, while continued persistence of basketry tools and food preparation equipment suggests that the female role suffered less disruption (Deetz 1962-1963:186).

Ethnographic accounts of the Obispeño and Purisimeño lack the wealth of detailed observation recorded for the channel coast. The women wore their hair with bangs over the forehead, and either loose or tied up behind; the men had perforated earlobes (Engelhardt 1933:30). There is agreement on skin robes and basketry caps. Cermeño described the Indians at San Luis Obispo as naked, bearded, and painted with stripes on their faces and arms (Wagner 1929:161). The padres confirmed the efficacy of the Obispeño plant remedies and their use of purgatives, emetics, and hot baths (Engelhardt 1933a:49).

In 1914-1915, Rosario Cooper, the last Obispeño speaker, described witchcraft cured by fasting, singing, scarifying, and bloodletting; beliefs in the sun, moon, stars, bear, and coyote; and dances associated with the swordfish and coyote, the former with a feather costume. An offering of feathers, beads, and tobacco was thrown to the swordfish at Avila. She knew a game played with wild walnuts filled with brea, and material culture items such as a broom made from split juncus stalks, sleeping mats, a foxskin quiver, and use of white clay as a shampoo (Harrington 1914-1915). Harrington's (1916) work in the Purisimeño area was devoted primarily to recording place names and linguistic data. The replies from this mission to the *interrogatorios* of 1811 have been lost (Engelhardt 1932a:39).

These two groups occupied lands among the least well known in aboriginal California. Since it is now too late for ethnography, most of the information will ultimately be revealed by archeology. It has long been assumed that this area was a late and attenuated reflection of the Santa Barbara Channel climax. A newer hypothesis is that the explorers did not traverse an empty or impoverished territory but an area once populous, which had already begun to decline. The Obispeño and Purisimeño shared with the broader Chumash culture those traits relevant to their own environment, adapting and enlarging upon an ancient base already long reliant on the littoral resources. The cultural lines were drawn more sharply by the ecological boundaries separating the southern Purisimeño area from the channel or the outer coast from the interior than by the linguistic subdivisions defining the Purisimeño from the Obispeño or the Obispeño from the Salinans.

Island Chumash

CAMPBELL GRANT

There are four islands forming the southern flank of the Santa Barbara Channel (fig. 1). From east to west they are Anacapa, Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and San Miguel. Their distance from the mainland varies between 12 and 30 miles. During the continental glaciations, the seas were lowered and the Santa Barbara Channel Islands were connected as a peninsula to the mainland and formed an extension of the Santa Monica Mountains. Mammoths and other life forms migrated westward onto the peninsula, and when rising sea levels isolated them, many terrestrial organisms underwent endemic evolution (Valentine and Lipps 1967:32). Examples of this are the dwarf mammoth of Santa Rosa Island and the fox, skunk, and mice that have deviated from the mainland varieties through long isolation. In addition, plants such as *Lyonothamnus*, known from Miocene and Pliocene fossils on the mainland, still grow on Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz island as island ironwood (*Lyonothamnus floribundus*). By the end of the Pleistocene epoch approximately 10,000 years ago, the sea level was stabilized at present levels.

The climate for most of the year is mild but the islands are subject to very strong winds, especially in the winter. Rainfall is somewhat less than on the mainland and averages about 12 inches near sea level and 20 inches a year on Santa Cruz (central valley at 200 feet elevation).

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo visited the islands in 1542 and his account states (Bolton 1925:34): "The Indians of these islands are very poor. They are fishermen; they eat nothing but fish; they sleep on the ground; their sole business and employment is to fish. They say that in each house there are fifty souls. They live very swinishly and go about naked."

San Miguel

San Miguel is the most westerly of the islands and is separated from Santa Rosa Island by a strait three and one-half miles wide. It is roughly eight miles long, averages about two miles wide, and covers 14 square miles. The formation is mainly marine sandstone with some hard ridges of volcanic rock. Most of the island averages about 200 feet in elevation with two central hills of 850 feet. There are no running streams and only one fairly good spring (at Cuyler Harbor) and a few seeps of fresh water. Originally the island was covered with a dense growth of brush such as sumac and manzanita, but much of the vegetation has been destroyed by overgrazing of sheep and cattle, and erosion is severe (Bremner 1933:9). Much of the island is covered by immense sand dunes, constantly shifting through wind action. The landing area is Cuyler Harbor on the northeast coast, the safest haven on any of the islands in a severe windstorm. The island periodically supports large herds of sea lions, elephant seals, and in former times, sea otters.

On October 18, 1542, Cabrillo's little fleet of two ships anchored in Cuyler Harbor and severe storms kept them there for a week. Cabrillo recorded the Chumash name for the islands as Ciquimuyu. The Spaniards named it La Posesion, and after Cabrillo's death there it was named Isla de Juan Rodríguez (Bolton 1925). The name

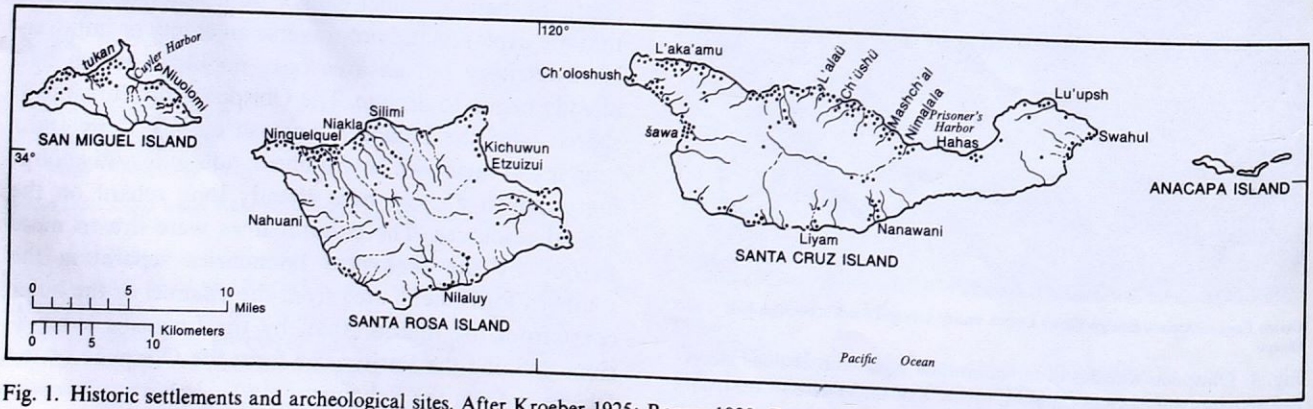


Fig. 1. Historic settlements and archeological sites. After Kroeber 1925; Rogers 1929; Brown 1967.

for San Miguel Island according to Pinart's Santa Cruz Island vocabulary is Tukkan (Heizer 1952:51), *tukan*. Sebastián Vizcaíno was in the channel in 1602 and renamed Cabrillo's La Posesion, Isla de San Bernardo. The final naming was by Capt. George Vancouver who was at Santa Barbara in 1792 and referred to the most westerly island as San Miguel (from a Spanish chart) (Vancouver 1798).

Brown (1967:map 1) shows two rancherias on San Miguel—Toan (*tukan*) and Niuoiomi. The Santa Barbara Mission records for 1786–1825 note 43 baptisms from Tucan (San Miguel) in 1788 and two in 1803 (Merriam 1962). King (1969:map 1) estimates the population of these two settlements at from 75 to 140.

In the 1870s there was a great interest in Indian curios and San Miguel Island became a favorite collecting area as the strong prevailing winds were constantly shifting the sand dunes to expose burials. The actual burials were in the shell middens, some of which were of great size. The first known collector on San Miguel was W.G.W. Harford of the U.S. Coast Survey (now the National Ocean Survey), who was on the island in 1872 and 1873. William H. Dall, also of the Coast Survey, and Paul Schumacher collecting for the Smithsonian Institution and the Peabody Museum were there in 1875. In 1877 Léon de Cessac was on San Miguel and the following year, Stephen Bowers, a well-known pot hunter.

Schumacher (1877), who excavated just west of Cuyler Harbor, observed that the burials were similar to those on the mainland and that whalebone slabs (made of rib sections) lined certain important burials and that whale vertebrae marked the location of some graves.

No further excavations were undertaken on San Miguel for many years, perhaps because the indiscriminate digging on the island had ruined the sites for serious archeological study; however, in 1919, the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, collected on the island for six months (Heye 1921). Twenty-three sites, mainly near the north shore, were excavated, and 343 individual burials were found. In spite of the heavy digging in previous years, the Heye expedition found a wealth of artifacts and many undisturbed burials. The dead were buried in flexed position, face up, while the usual mainland position was face down.

The artifacts testified to the islanders' dependence on fishing and the hunting of marine mammals. There were great numbers of the circular abalone fishhooks as well as parts of composite bone fishhooks. Many fine projectile points were recovered, including a chipped harpoon point. Since there is no steatite on the islands, the great number of steatite artifacts found by the Heye expedition demonstrates an active trade with the mainland Chumash across the channel or direct contact with the steatite sources on Santa Catalina Island. Of the typical mainland steatite objects (fig. 2), only the hooked "pelican stones," cooking ollas, comals, and arrow straighteners are missing. The relative scarcity of sandstone cooking vessels and complete lack of steatite vessels indicates that the cooking of fish, shellfish, and marine-mammal meat was done over open fires. The perforated stones (fig. 3) were abundant and most were made of steatite where the mainland types are predominantly sandstone.



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 18297.
Fig. 3. Perforated steatite stone. The use of such objects is unknown; they may have been digging-stick weights, club heads, fish-net sinkers, shaman's paraphernalia, or game stones. Diameter 11.0 cm; collected 1875.



Santa Barbara Mus. of Nat. Hist., Calif.: NA-CA-SBA-XX-7A-1.
Fig. 2. Steatite whale effigy. Length, about 17.2 cm.

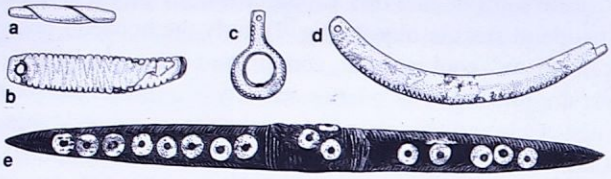
Mortars and pestles of standstone were excavated and were probably traded, as the sandstone on San Miguel is not suitable for the purpose. One mortar was made from the hollowed vertebra of a whale.

Charmstone-shaped artifacts were grooved on one end and showed asphaltum marks where they had been attached to fishing lines or nets. Whalebone (fig. 4) wedges, abalone pry bars, and clubs (possibly for use in killing seals) were found in the middens.

Beads (fig. 5) of many types and materials were recovered; most were found in infant burials. Many clamshell pendants had punched-hole designs. Fragments of bas-



Santa Barbara Mus. of Nat. Hist., Calif.: NA-CA-SBA-27-3c-1.
Fig. 4. Whale-bone spear straightener. Length, about 39.6 cm; possibly Coastal Chumash.



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: a, 18187; b, 26249; c, 18185; d, 18320; Santa Barbara Mus. of Nat. Hist., Calif.: e, NA-CA-SBA-131.60-6a-1.
Fig. 5. Shell ornaments and charmstone. a, univalve shell columella; b-d, haliotis; e, steatite charmstone decorated with shell and asphaltum, length 15.2 cm; a-d, same scale.

ketry hats and sea-grass aprons were recovered from female burials.

Rogers (1929:262-268) did a surface survey of San Miguel and found site concentrations all along the north shore and inland south of Cuyler Harbor. With only a few short breaks, the sites along the north shore were continuous. The immense numbers of abalone shells in the middens led Rogers to conclude that abalone were the San Miguel Islanders' chief diet, whereas on the mainland, this mollusk was much scarcer and seldom seen except as a finished ornament.

San Miguel Island is now the property of the U.S. government and currently is used by the navy as a missile target area.

Santa Rosa

Santa Rosa is the most westerly of the two big channel islands and lies midway between San Miguel and Santa Cruz. It is 18 miles long and 11 miles wide, with an area of 84 square miles. The land is basically a series of rounded hills rising in some instances to 1,500 feet and covered with grass, brush, or cactus. The shoreline cliffs are low, and along the eastern coast there are long stretches of beach. There are a number of well-watered canyons and some wooded areas of oak and pine. There are small intrusions of igneous rocks but the island is composed mainly of sedimentary rock.

Cabrillo, on October 18, 1542, tried to double Cabo de Galera (Point Conception) and failing, sailed south to discover Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands. He named them both Islas de San Lucas and counted six villages. The Santa Cruz Chumash name of the island is Huimal or Guima (Heizer 1955:115; Merriam 1970:45)—i.e. *wima?*.

The mission baptismal registers of Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, La Purísima, and Santa Ynez all list Indians from the islands among the converts, and from these lists it is possible to identify six and possibly seven rancherias of 1770. The largest of these settlements were Etzuizui, Silimi, and Nilajuy (Merriam 1962, 1970). The majority of the Santa Rosa Islanders were sent to La Purísima Mission. According to King (1969:map 1), the Santa Rosa population in 1770 was between 490 and 790.

There is little ethnographic information on the Santa Rosa Chumash, but according to Henshaw (Heizer 1955:151-158), a man marrying out of his village was never allowed to return. The villages were generally friendly. Bows and arrows were obtained from the mainland. The islanders were most skillful in chipping stone implements and this formed their stock in trade. (There was abundant igneous rock on the islands, for fine flaking.)

Bristles of the sea lion were used as needles and as perforators (for the tubular clamshell money). The Santa Rosa Islanders sharpened the edge of the abalone and wore it around the neck as a scraper (sweat scraper?). Abalone shell was polished by rubbing on a piece of stretched skin. Long curved pendants were made of the edge of the abalone shell and used by the young girls as head scratchers. The children were taught to swim when small and could stay in the water all day.

After the burial of a Santa Rosa man, the hair of the widow was cut off and she was compelled to visit the grave at stated intervals. The widow also observed a prescribed diet. The period of widowhood lasted one year after which the woman was at liberty to marry any man from her village. The marriage ceremony consisted of the couple's eating mush together out of the same dish, after which they were husband and wife.

According to a Santa Rosa Island Chumash, these islanders hunted whales with spears and ate the blubber raw. This report of Chumash as whale hunters is not supported by any other ethnographic or archeologic data. Most food was eaten without cooking. They worshiped the sun, the crow, and the swordfish. They believed that the swordfish as well as the killer whale drove the whales ashore (Bowers 1878).

Possibly the planked canoes of the Chumash developed out of a dugout-type canoe. There is some evidence that such boats were still being made occasionally into historic times by the Chumash. Harrington (1942:11) lists both dugouts and ocean balsas from Barbareño informants, and Daniel Hill, who went to Santa Barbara in 1822, described dugouts made from tree trunks with stone axes. They were about 30 feet long and four feet wide (Woodward 1934:119).

Informants told Henshaw that at the time of the great earthquake of 1812, which seriously damaged the missions, the Indians were terrified and were easily persuaded by the padres to leave Santa Rosa and come to the missions. The mission baptismal registers (Merriam 1962, 1970) list 102 Santa Rosa converts for the period 1786–1825.

Most of the archeological stone, bone, and shell artifact types known from the mainland were present on Santa Rosa, but as on San Miguel Island, there were no fine sandstone bowls, steatite ollas, arrow straighteners, hooked stones, or medicine tubes. There was much reburial but in the undisturbed burials most of the bodies were placed on the left side with the left hand under the head. Often great masses of olivella shells were placed with the body, and in reburials many skulls were filled with the shells. The middens contain chiefly mussel shell with some abalone, and seal bones were abundant. There were many milling stones and mullers apparently mixed with late Chumash material but as Jones (1956) did no stratigraphic work, no conclusion on cultural change can be drawn from his data. In the midden burials clean sand was placed in the prepared grave pits. There were great numbers of flint microlith bladelets, often found in sizable groups, with a burial. These small tools average only two centimeters in length and were used as drills set in the end of wooden spindles to drill holes such as those in the tiny olivella beads so often found imbedded in asphaltum on decorated objects (fig. 5). Basket mortars were present as well as fragments of asphalted water bottles. One curious burial area was in a cave where 55 graves were excavated. All open burial areas were marked by large stones and whale bones. At the site of the historic rancheria of Silimi Jones counted 20 house rings.

Rogers (1929) noted that the larger settlements on Santa Rosa were along the north shore where locations are ideal with abundant nearby water. The inland settlements appeared to be seasonal camps. On the north shore there were frequent house rings plainly defined by circular ridges of midden. Rogers counted 18 villages concentrated into five major settlements on the north coast. Of these, three are identifiable on Kroeber's map (1925:48), Siliwihi (Silimi) at Green Canyon, Niakla at Soledad Canyon, and Numkulkul (Ninquelquel) at Corral Canyon.

At Kichuwun on the north side of Ranch House Creek, Rogers found camp debris 12 feet deep above a two-feet section of mixed burials. Canoe wood was found on the asphaltum plugs from the drilled holes. He also dug the site of Nilaluy at Johnson's Lee on the south coast. It had been badly looted but there was one house ruin in fair repair, made of four arched whale ribs and seven posts of split ironwood. Smaller horizontal poles encircled the uprights, forming a domelike shape. The whole had been thatched with sea grass.

Orr (1960) named two early cultures as Dune Dweller and Highland. These both occurred on the northwest coast. The former lies in the sand-dune area, and the Highland occurs farther back from the sea. Early Dune Dweller is characterized by sitting-up burials, red-painted skulls, perforated stones, and absence of grinding implements. This period had radiocarbon dates secured from abalone shell of 4870 B.C. to 5450 B.C. The Late Dune Dweller culture is dated at 2150 B.C. to 1050 B.C. and features flexed burials in clean sand and abundant grave goods, including Gypsum Cave–type points.

The Highland culture suggests seasonal camps of the Dune Dwellers as mortars were present but few other artifacts. There are few burials and scanty middens though over 100 sites were recorded.

Orr's earliest Chumash date of 640 B.C. comes from charcoal from a sweathouse. He excavated a number of Chumash sites on the northwest coast, possibly part of the big settlement of Niakla (Kroeber 1925:48). Orr (1968) noted the tremendous amount of olivella beads in the burials (also reported earlier by Jones 1956). There were great numbers of microblades.

The only rock painting on Santa Rosa Island is in a cave on the north side of the island—faint unrecognizable patterns in red and black. One petroglyph of the pit-and-groove type was found in Jones's Cave on the south coast. The elaborate Chumash art of the mainland may be late in time and therefore did not affect the islanders before their culture was destroyed by the missionaries.

In private hands since the end of the mission period, Santa Rosa Island was in 1972 a cattle ranch owned by Vail-Vickers Corporation.

Santa Cruz

Santa Cruz Island is the largest and in many ways the most interesting of the Santa Barbara Channel Islands. It is about 25 miles long and the greatest width is about seven miles. The total area is 96 square miles. The island is very rugged and appears like a mountain range rising from the sea from a distance. The wide western half of the island is divided into two mountain ranges; the highest peak has an altitude of 2,400 feet. Between the ridges is a long well-watered central valley created by a fault, with side canyons wooded with oak, pine, and island ironwood. The north shore is cut by many deep, narrow, wooded ravines, some with small permanent streams, which make east-west travel extremely difficult. This shore has a number of small cobble beaches between high sheer cliffs; and the sea is quite calm in the summer months, making ideal landing conditions for the Chumash canoes. In the winter, severe southeast and northwest winds make even the two best anchorages, Pelican Bay and Prisoner's Harbor, hazardous. On the exposed south coast the cliffs are not so high and there are a

number of sandy beaches but the surf is often heavy. About 55 percent of the island is composed of Tertiary volcanic rocks, andesite, basalt, and rhyolite. The balance is evenly divided between metamorphic and sedimentary rocks (Bremner 1932:14–26). Seasonally, certain beaches are occupied by large herds of seals and sea lions. Like Santa Rosa, this island has been privately owned since the end of the mission era, first as a sheep ranch and later as a cattle ranch.

Cabrillo in 1542 noted 10 rancherias on Santa Cruz (Limun, i.e. *limuw*[?]), but none resembles known settlements of the mission period and the names do not even sound like Chumash words. On the other hand, Cabrillo listed six villages on Santa Rosa (for which he gives the native word Nicalque), three of which are identifiable with known villages on Santa Cruz: Maxul (Maschal), Xugua (*šawa*), and Nimitopal (Nimalala) (Kroeber 1925:554).

In 1769, Juan Perez, commanding the *San Antonio*, one of Father Junipero Serra's supply ships, headed for San Diego, became hopelessly lost, and found himself among the Santa Barbara Channel Islands. They put into the present Prisoner's Harbor on Santa Cruz to get a supply of water. While there, Father Juan Vizcaíno left a walking staff mounted with a metal cross at the village. It was returned by the Indians and the island was named Santa Cruz to commemorate the event (Vizcaíno 1959:iv).

Although ethnological information on Santa Cruz is slight, the Chumash names for the island (*mič^{h}umaš* or Limun i.e. *limuw*[?]) and for its 12 villages are recorded in the mission baptismal books. In 1884 Juan Pico, a Chumash informant, gave Henshaw the locations for these settlements (Heizer 1955:197). The mission records (Merriam 1962, 1970) list 511 Santa Cruz natives that were dispersed among the various missions, chiefly Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura. The largest number (161) came from the rancheria of Ishguagel (Swahul) at the extreme eastern tip of the island. The last Chumash were removed to the missions in the 1830s from the Prisoner's Harbor rancheria, Nimalala (Schumacher 1877:42). According to King (1969:map 1), the Santa Cruz Island population in 1770 was between 925 and 1,450.

Santa Cruz Island has a very large number of archeological sites, only a few of which have been systematically excavated. Along the north shore, every point and headland is white with midden shell and there has been much pot hunting since the 1850s.

In one month in 1875 Schumacher (1877) excavated over 700 burials at seven sites. He noted that the middens on the headlands, so conspicuous from the sea, were invariably shallow and represented camp areas and that the burial middens were at the village sites near permanent water.

Both Bowers and de Cessac collected on Santa Cruz in the 1870s. De Cessac made a large collection of microliths (bladelets and burins of brown chert, the latter previously unknown in California) (Heizer and Kelley 1962). De Cessac also found flint quarries in the interior of the island and caves that had served for shelter and burial (Hamy 1951:8). Outhwaite (1913) mapped 86 sites.

The first systematic survey of Santa Cruz (Rogers 1929) recorded more than 100 sites with major concentration of villages around the 12 known historic rancherias. The Chumash settlements can be located on Rogers's survey map.

Henshaw (in Heizer 1955:197)	*Kroeber (1925:pl. 48)*	*Approximate location*
L,acoyamu	La'ka'amu	West Point
L,alale	L'alalü	Diablo Point
Ch,heshe	Ch'üshü	Platt's Harbor
Mashchhal	Mashch'al	Pelican Bay
Nimatlala	Nimalala	Prisoner's Harbor
Jajas	Hahas	Chinese Harbor
Lu upsh	Lu'upsh	Scorpion Cove
Suajel	Swahül	Smuggler's Cove
Nanawany	Nanawani	Coches Prietos
Liyam	Liyam	Willows
Shawa	Shawa	Christy's Harbor
Ch,oloshush	Ch'oloshush	Forney's Cove

In one site at Valdez Cove two steatite ollas were found containing baby burials. At a number of points along the cliffs, there was evidence that large fires had been burned over a long period, possibly signal fires to guide the canoes in to the villages after dark. Rogers also excavated Coches Prietos, where he found steatite ollas, rare on the islands, an immense number of whale bones, and the ruins of a house partly built of whale ribs. At Christy's Harbor, there were many villages and Rogers found quantities of shallow mortars, several dog burials, and one burial with a spear point imbedded in the skull.

Olson (1930) excavated on Santa Cruz in 1927 and 1928. His work contained the first stratigraphic information on the Island Chumash, as well as tables on the frequency of artifact occurrence. He divided the Santa Cruz archeology into Early Island and Late Island periods. The Early was basically characterized by the presence of bone pendants and charmstones and the absence of circular fishhooks, steatite ollas, and comals. In the Late period, there was an increased use of steatite and ollas and comals came into use. Olson recorded 120 sites in addition to the 86 mapped by Outhwaite in 1913. Olson's material was studied by Hoover (1971), who recognized three main phases dating roughly from 4000 B.C. to the first Spanish contact in 1542.

On the islands woven sea-grass matting has been recovered from graves. It was used for the same purposes as tule matting on the mainland.

There are only two known examples on Santa Cruz of rudimentary rock art. At Dick's Cove on the north shore, there is a rock inscribed with parallel scorings and in Olson's Cave near Orizaba Cove there is a painting mainly of red parallel lines.

Basically the Island culture is the same as that of the mainland but differs in showing a much greater dependence on fishing and the gathering of shellfish. There is less use of steatite and the large sandstone bowls of the mainland are almost unknown.

Anacapa

Anacapa, the smallest of the Santa Barbara Channel Islands (1.1 square miles), lies 12 miles off the coast and six miles east of Santa Cruz Island. It is actually three small islands, six miles long in all, and is composed of volcanic rocks overlaid with sedimentary deposits. Essentially the island segments are flat-topped plateaus 90 to 300 feet high bounded by high vertical cliffs in most areas. Seals and sea lions occur on East Anacapa and on the north shore of the island are shallow rock formations excellent for abalone gathering.

The island was uninhabited at the time of Cabrillo's visit, and in 1769 Gaspar de Portolá named it Las Mesitas. The Ventureño Chumash name for the island is Aniapa (*ʔanyapax*[?]) and Anacapa is a corruption of this word (Heizer 1955:115). The occupation of Anacapa was seasonal due to the scarcity of permanent water on the island. The three segments of the island have been surveyed by a number of investigators beginning with de Cessac in 1878. All sites appear to be temporary fishing camps with a few scattered burials and artifacts.

Interior Chumash

CAMPBELL GRANT

The Interior Chumash occupying the northern territory are virtually unknown. Few systematic excavations have been carried out in the region, ethnographic information is almost nonexistent, and there were no established missions to record vital statistics. Yet this is the area that has provided the finest of the Chumash rock paintings.

The Cuyama region is bounded on the north by the mountains separating the drainages of the Salinas and Cuyama rivers, on the south by the crest of the San Rafael Mountains, on the west by the Coast Ranges (roughly 12 miles from the ocean), and on the east by the Temblor Range and the mountains dividing the watersheds of the Cuyama and the Santa Clara rivers. The region is drained by the Cuyama and Sisquoc rivers and the Sisquoc tributary, Manzana Creek.

The Carrizo Plains are barren and waterless except for an occasional spring. The Cuyama River, rising in the forested mountains of northeastern Santa Barbara County and northwestern Ventura County, is intermittently dry except during the rainy season. In its upper two-thirds, the river is a broad sandy wash lying between the desolate Caliente Range and the Sierra Madre. Below that, the river passes through a mountainous area before entering the rolling oak and grassland country near Santa Maria. The Sisquoc River has its headwaters in high rugged forest land and carries water through the year as far as the junction with Manzana Creek.

Cuyama

The first record of the Indians in the Cuyama region is in the report of a reconnaissance from Mission Santa Ynez to the San Joaquin valley undertaken by Father José de Zalvidéa in 1806 (Cook 1960:245-247). The expedition, traveling north from the mission, passed several abandoned villages on Alamo Pintado Creek before entering the Cuyama region where the party camped at a small native settlement of three houses on the Sisquoc. This was called Olomosong and held only seven people. Zalvidéa then began the steep ascent of the Sierra Madre and enroute passed by the village of Gecp, with five houses and 11 people. The small number of people at the mountain villages may indicate that many had already gone to the missions. They then came to extensive plains (Cuyama Valley) where they found a rancheria called Talihuilimit of 25 Indians. One woman said she had a son at La Purísima Mission. The expedition then moved along the foothills up the Cuyama Valley and came to the rancheria of Lisahua, which had a population of 28. Cook (1960) places this settlement near the mouth of Salisbury Canyon. From this point, it is difficult to follow the route though it seems to continue along the Cuyama River with the settlements located in the south canyons. After Lisahua, Zalvidéa visited Cuia, with nine houses and 41 people; Siguecin, with over 30 inhabitants; and Sgene, with 26 people. Here the expedition left the Cuyama drainage and Chumash country as the next village, Malapoa, with 59 Indians, was in Yokuts territory on Bitterwater Creek.

In 1824 another Spanish expedition crossed the Cuyama area (Cook 1962:154-157). Capt. Pablo de la Portilla had been sent in pursuit of the runaway neophytes from the coastal missions after the revolt of 1824. His route to Lake Buenavista in the San Joaquin valley had been via the Santa Clara River and Piru Creek. Portilla's return, accompanied by many of the Chumash who had surrendered, was directly back to Santa Barbara through the mountains. He found Malapoa, the last Yokuts village, deserted. Crossing the Cuyama, they moved up a dry wash (probably Santa Barbara Canyon), past the village of Camup and crossed the crest of the mountains (near Malduce Peak). The country is very rough and Portilla wrote that "many people tired out, particularly old persons and women with children" (Cook 1962:156). Descending the south slope, they camped at a village called Casitec. The expedition followed a stream called Seguaya (Nono Creek?) past a village of the same name to the junction of the creek and the Santa Ynez River. From there, they descended the river to the vicinity of San Marcos Pass and crossed the mountains to Santa Barbara. This information is all that is known on the settlements of the mountainous Cuyama region. The two expeditions mention 10 villages and the ones described are all small.

The first excavations in the Cuyama region were at the site of Wa-le-khe several miles up the Cuyama River from Alamo Creek (Schumacher 1875a). In 1904 the University of California acquired a collection of nine baskets that J.E. Heath had found in dry caves in the Cuyama Valley on the north slope of the Sierra Madre (Kroeber 1925:12, 53, 54). During the 1920s J.G. James,



Santa Barbara Mus. of Nat. Hist., Calif.: NA-CA-SBA-XX-4F-39.
Fig. 1. Twined water container lined with asphaltum. Height, 45 cm.

a rancher in Salisbury Canyon, recovered many perishable artifacts in the caves on and near his ranch (Grant 1964). These included tule matting, water bottles, a sieve, olla-shaped baskets, gaming trays and sticks, a seed beater, yucca netting, a yucca tumpline, a deerskin storage bag, and leather sandal soles. In one cave, buried under sand and wrapped in tule matting, James found a perfectly preserved feathered dance skirt. It had been used into historic times as there were blue glass beads attached to it.

Later, with Henry Abels, James excavated a small cemetery on Salisbury Potrero, containing about 20 burials. The offerings included most of the typical Chumash artifacts found on the coast, including steatite pipes, bowls (fig. 2), ollas, and beads; conical sandstone bowls and pestles; sweat scrapers, flutes, molded red ocher cakes; and Spanish contact material such as scissors, a key, and a Mexican polychrome pot. The grave goods were so abundant and varied that it seems impossible that this was a typical mountain village cemetery. Possibly these people were fugitives from the coast who had fled to this area during the mission period or retreated here after mission secularization.



Santa Barbara Mus. of Nat. Hist., Calif.: left, NA-CA-SBA-1279-4a-5; right, NA-CA-SBA-1279-4a-18.
Fig. 2. Steatite bowls. Specimen at right 14 cm width.

In 1934 W.D. Strong of the Smithsonian Institution conducted a brief investigation of the Cuyama Valley and later of the upper Sisquoc under the guidance of J.G. James. At one canyon site he found the remains of ovoid semisubterranean lodges of juniper poles. At another site near the present town of Cuyama, a circular house was excavated that was 19 feet in diameter with four central posts. At another village site (possibly Sgene), an ovoid lodge was excavated that was 24 feet long. The ovoid houses resemble southern Yokuts-type dwellings. Nearby was a small burial area. Artifacts were rare but included basket mortars, a thin oak bowl, sandstone mortars and pestles, small notched arrow points, and beads (mainly olivella). The Sisquoc reconnaissance of 1934 located a number of rock paintings and some artifacts in dry caves such as digging sticks, fire hearths, fragments of baskets, and matting. Two villages were investigated on the upper Sisquoc but the house pits yielded little (Strong 1935).

In 1935 the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History conducted a preliminary survey of the same upper Sisquoc-Manzana area. They found that the great number of wind-eroded caves in the Manzana drainage had been utilized as shelters or cache spots for baskets, and that where water was found adjacent to the caves, there were bedrock mortars. Rock paintings were found in many caves. A small cemetery was trenched and conical sandstone bowls and a steatite olla were found (Rogers 1937).

In 1959 the University of California at Los Angeles made a four-day preliminary survey of archeological sites in the extreme western part of the Cuyama region at the Vaquero Reservoir, which impounds the Cuyama River (McKusick and Watson 1958-1959). Twelve sites were located and local collections of grinding implements were examined. Metates and manos were rare and mortars and pestles, including basket mortars, fairly abundant. Later that year two sites on Alamo Creek were excavated (Wire 1960-1961; Smith and LaFave 1960-1961). The sites were both middens and most of the objects were broken, but the recovered material indicated that this was a peripheral Chumash culture area lacking the more specialized coastal artifacts. The middens contained many species of shells, demonstrating a constant contact with the ocean over 20 miles away.

In 1963 Finnerty and Pearson excavated a small burial area in the Carrizo Plains (Finnerty 1963). The four burials excavated were all flexed and lying face up. One had a large quantity of shell beads and ornaments over the face. These were all common types found on the

coast—haliotis spangles, *Tivela* tubes and beads, and the like. The two projectile points were leaf-shaped and side-notched. Nearby a number of large conical sandstone bowls were excavated, and there was a surface find of asphalt-covered basket-coating pebbles. The importance of this small site is that it is immediately adjacent to a major complex of elaborate rock paintings (fig. 3). There has always been some doubt as to who occupied the Carrizo Plains and were the authors of the rock art. The artifacts from the rock painting area strongly indicate a Chumash settlement, and descendants of Tejón Chumash have said the Carrizo was Chumash territory as far west as Soda Lake (Latta 1949:30).

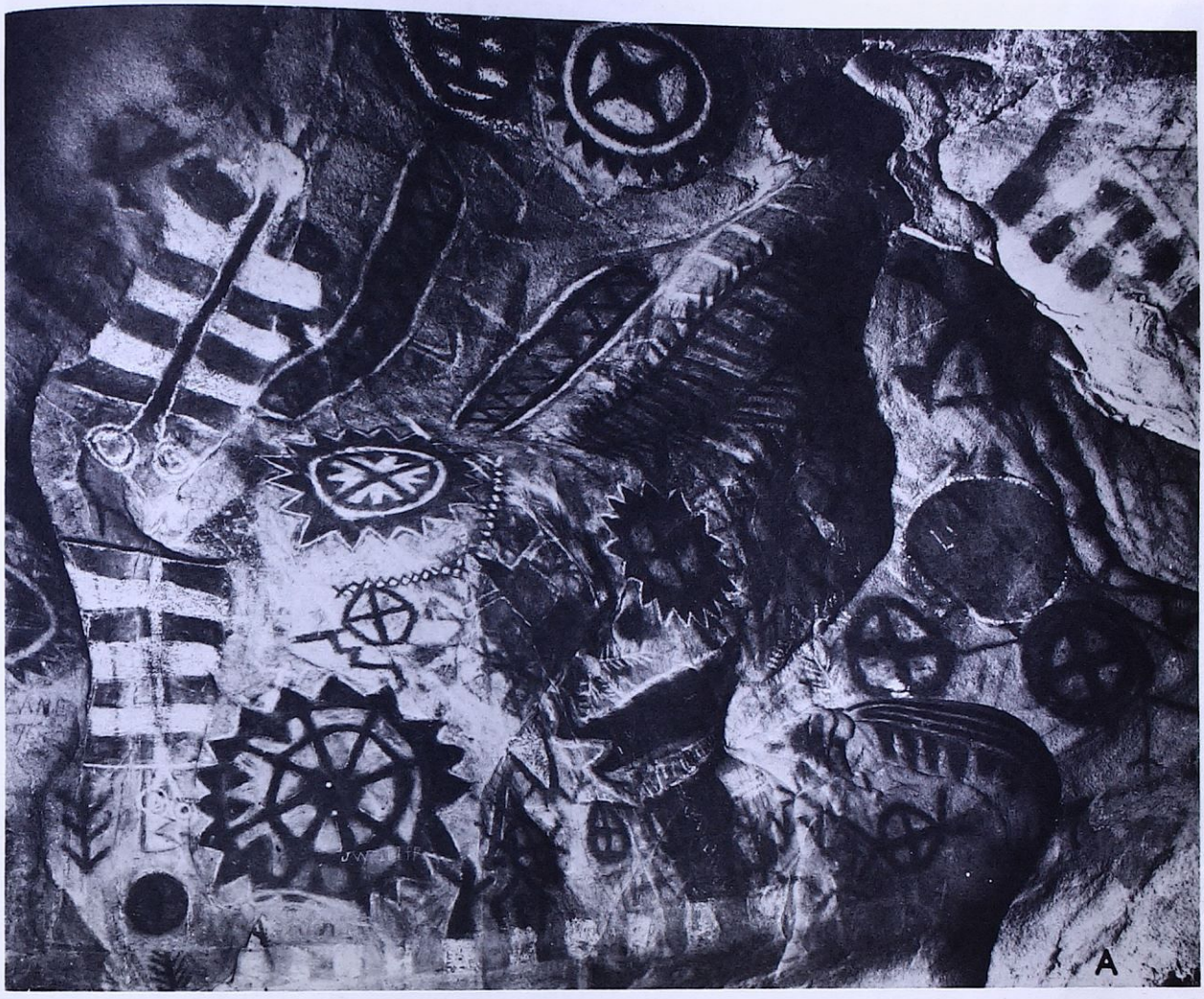
The Chumash rock paintings certainly reach their highest development in the barren Carrizo Plains region. It appears probable that this highly developed art form of polychrome abstract designs had its beginning in the petroglyph art of the desert Numic speakers to the east, particularly in the Coso Range area of Inyo County. In the mountains between the Coso region and the Kern River to the west, there are paintings that resemble the desert abstract pecked style. Farther west in the Yokuts territory, the basic style remains abstract but the paintings are much more elaborate and many are polychrome. The closest Chumash to the southern San Joaquin Yokuts were those living in the Carrizo Plains and the Cuyama Valley, both berry areas that lay on trade routes to the coastal region. Latta (1949) gives an account by a Yokuts woman of a Yokuts trading expedition that met a group of Coastal Chumash somewhere in the Cuyama Valley or the Carrizo Plains. It is possible that the Interior Chumash in whose territory the trading took place sometimes acted as middlemen in such traffic. Certainly they traded directly at times with their channel kinsmen.

The Chumash apparently acquired the rock-painting tradition from the Yokuts and developed it to its highest point (fig. 4). Toward the Santa Barbara Channel the paintings decrease in complexity and numbers, and it is very likely that rock painting along the channel had scarcely begun before missionization destroyed the native culture.



Kern Co. Land Company.

Fig. 3. Polychrome pictograph on a large isolated sandstone outcrop in the Carrizo Plains, San Luis Obispo Co., site SLO-79. Colors are red, black, white, yellow. Photograph by von Petersdorff, 1894. This panel and adjoining sections, over 100 feet long, have since been destroyed by vandals.



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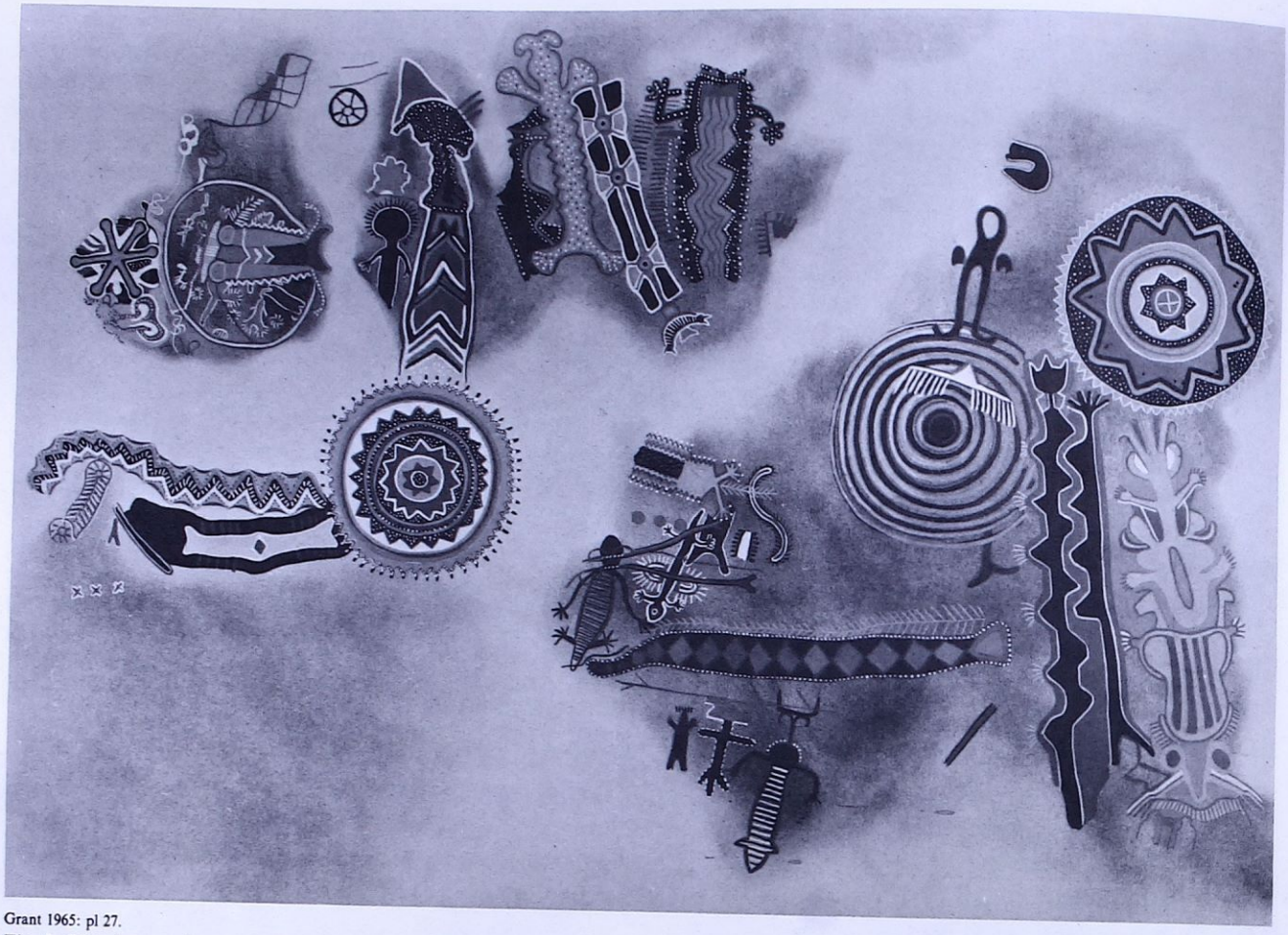
Fig. 4. Painted Cave near Santa Barbara, site SBa-506. Brownish red, black, and white pictographs on grey sandstone. Photographed about 1930.

Emigdiano

Territory of the Emigdiano is a peripheral Chumash area that is difficult to define; the boundaries given can be only approximate. Roughly, it lies in the extreme southwest corner of Kern County. On the north it is defined by a line drawn roughly from Grapevine to the Mount Abel road and including all the north-flowing streams from the Mount Abel-Tecuya Mountain region. On the east it is marked by Castac Lake and on the south by a line somewhat south of the Cuddy Valley Road.

For the location of some of the Emigdiano rancherias, there is the 1806 journal of Father Zalvidéa (Cook 1960:245-247), who visited Tacui (Tecuya), a village of 23 inhabitants on Tecuya Creek. Later his party passed by the rancheria of Casteque (Castac, *kastiq*) on the north shore of Castac Lake, at the head of Grapevine Canyon. Zalvidéa noted that his party "found no Indians for they were all away at their fields of Guata" (ibid.: 247).

Some additional information on the Emigdiano settlements was obtained in 1905 by C. Hart Merriam. Sasau was a rancheria on the north shore of Castac Lake. Lapau was a large settlement at the mouth of the Cañada de las Uvas (Fort Tejon Canyon), and Takuyo was in Tecuya Canyon. All three were villages of the Castac tribe which Zalvidéa misunderstood as a village name. At the Santa Barbara mission ranch, San Emígdio, on San Emígdio Creek, there was a Chumash rancheria named Tashlipunau and the Indians bore the same name (Merriam 1966-1967, 3:429-436). According to Merriam's informants, the Tashlipunau at San Emígdio spoke a dialect similar to the Santa Barbara area while the dialect of the Castac people from the Tejón area was more similar to Ventureño. Kroeber lists another settle-



Grant 1965: pl 27.

Fig. 5. Polychrome pictograph, Pleito Cr., Kern Co., site CG-K2. It shows considerable overpainting to the right where cruder work is overlaid with elaborate designs. The painting originally covered most of the cave walls, but wind has eroded all but these paintings on the ceiling. Facsimile by Campbell Grant.

ment on upper San Emígdio Creek—Kamupau (1925: map 1). The Yokuts knew the Chumash on their southwestern border as Tokya.

There is literally no ethnological or archeological information on the Emigdiano, though a story is recorded about them from a *muwu* Chumash. A Tejón (Emigdiano) woman had married a *muwu* man and came to live on the coast. She was unfaithful to him and was killed by being shot to death with arrows; her body was burned according to the *muwu* custom. About 400 Tejón Indians came to the coast to avenge the death of the woman and in the battle over 70 were killed. The *muwu* Chumash did not take scalps but cut off the right hand of slain enemies (Bowers 1897).

The population of the interior Chumash area is difficult to estimate but the meager ethnological and archeological records would indicate a population of over 1,000 in the Cuyama region and several hundred in the Emigdiano region.

There are few rock paintings in the Emigdiano region, though one cave near the rancheria of Tashlipunau contains the most elaborate Chumash painting (fig. 5) known and ranks as the finest example of prehistoric rock art in the United States.

Most of the Chumash rock paintings are located in the Cuyama region and in the mountainous part of the Emigdiano region. The flowering of a complex ceremonial art tradition in this remote area of peripheral hunters and gatherers sharply contrasts with the coastal Chumash, where technical excellence in the working of stone, wood, and bone was apparently accompanied by the most meager religious ceremonialism. As Kroeber (1925:568) puts it: "It is possible that the [coastal] Chumash were really inferior to the speculating Shoshoneans in power of abstract formulation. Such differences in national spirit exist in California, as witness the Shoshonean [i.e., Takic] Luiseño and Yuman Diegueño [Ipai-Tipai]. The technological abilities of the Chumash do not by any means prove an equal superiority in other directions."

Tataviam

CHESTER KING AND THOMAS C. BLACKBURN

Language

On the basis of a short word list collected in 1917 by John P. Harrington of the Smithsonian Institution, Bright (1975a) has concluded that the Tataviam (tə'tävēyəm) language may be "the remnant, influenced by Takic, of a language family otherwise unknown in Southern California," or, more likely, that it is Takic (but not, apparently, Serran or Cupan). The second hypothesis receives support from ancillary comments made by some of Harrington's Kitanemuk informants as well as from ethnohistoric and archeological data. In 1776 Francisco Garcés followed the usage of his Mohave guides and referred to all the people living along the Mohave River, in the San Gabriel and San Fernando valleys, along the upper reaches of the Santa Clara River, and in the Elizabeth Lake region—thus the Tataviam and their Takic neighbors—as the Beñeme. The Kawaiisu called the Kitanemuk, the Vanyume, the Tataviam, and presumably the Serrano and Gabrielino *pitadi* 'southerners' (Zigmond 1938); the Chemehuevi name Pitanteme(we) 'Vanyume' (Carobeth Laird, personal communication 1975) may have had a similar range of application. Garcés (1965) and Fages (1937) both considered the Tataviam similar to their southern Takic neighbors in dress, political organization, and language. Archeological evidence, such as the types of artifacts used in social interaction and the internal organization of cemeteries and villages, also indicates that the Tataviam resembled neighboring Takic groups. Archeological data suggest that the Tataviam began to differentiate from other southern California Takic speakers around 1000 B.C. It is at this time that cremation as a mortuary practice begins to predominate in those areas occupied ethnographically by Takic-speaking peoples. By historic times the Tataviam language was so distinct that one of Harrington's Kitanemuk informants expressed the opinion that it was as foreign to him as English and certainly less easily understood than the San Fernando Valley dialect of Gabrielino.

Territory and Environment

The Tataviam lived primarily on the upper reaches of the Santa Clara River drainage east of Piru Creek, although their territory extended over the Sawmill Mountains to the north to include at least the southwestern fringes of the Antelope Valley (fig. 1). The major portion of the Antelope Valley itself was probably held by Kitanemuk and Vanyume speakers. The Tataviam were bounded on the west by various Chumashan groups: to the northwest, at Castac Lake, lived the Castac Chumash; to the west, on Sespe Creek, were the *seɬspe* Chumash; and to the southwest, at *kamulus* (a village recorded at San Fernando Mission under its Chumash name), lived a mixed Chumash-Tataviam population. The Tataviam were bounded on the south by various Gabrielino-speaking groups.

Most of the Tataviam region lies between 1,500 and 3,000 feet above sea level, with a minimum elevation of about 600 feet on the Santa Clara River near Piru and a maximum elevation of 6,503 feet at Gleason Mountain. The core of this area, and indeed of the Tataviam territory itself, is comprised of the south-facing slopes of the Liebre and Sawmill mountains. In southern California generally, the degree of exposure to sunlight present on a slope and the corresponding rate of evapotranspiration are important determinants of various types of vegetation. The nature of the slope-exposure in the Tataviam region is such that the Tataviam themselves probably relied more heavily on yucca as a major staple than did neighboring groups. However, the plant and

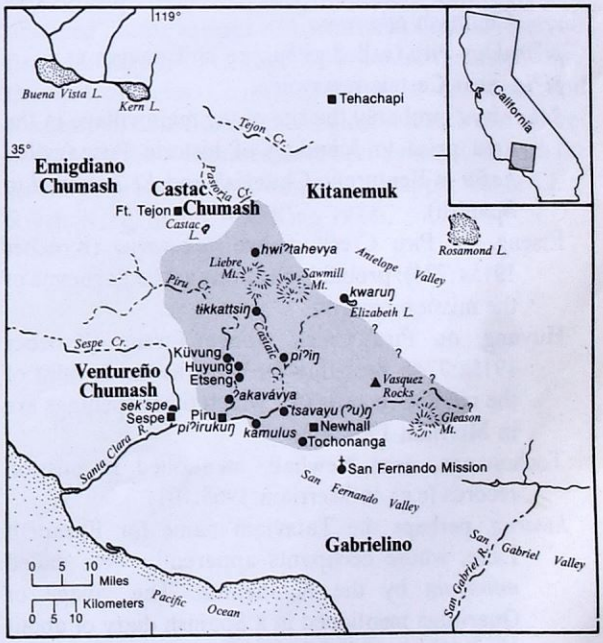


Fig. 1. Tribal territory and villages.

animal associations in the territory of the Tataviam were otherwise generally similar to those exploited by neighboring Takic speakers.

External Relations

Little is known about the social and political interaction that occurred between the Tataviam and other groups, although the presence of north-south enmity and east-west amity relationships similar to those found throughout southern California in protohistoric times seems likely. In 1776, for example, Garcés asked the chief of the Cuabajay (apparently the Castac Chumash) with whom he was staying to cease waging war against the people living on the upper Santa Clara River. Archeological data indicate that the Tataviam participated in economic transactions similar to those engaged in by both adjacent Takic groups and Yokuts groups farther north. During the postmission period, the few surviving Tataviam often intermarried with the Kitanemuk, with whom they seem to have interacted most intensively at that time. They also participated in and attended Chumash fiestas and ceremonies on occasion. Future analyses of mission record data will undoubtedly clarify and perhaps modify what little information is available on Tataviam external relations and internal organization.

Settlement Pattern

Until the mission registers are thoroughly analyzed, it will not be possible to make a definitive list of all Tataviam villages inhabited in early historic times nor to estimate population size with any degree of accuracy. Known Tataviam village names (given in their Kitanemuk forms) and their locations are as follows:

tsavayu(ʔu)ŋ, San Francisquito (probably equivalent to Chumash *takuyamaʔm*).

piʔirukuŋ, Piru (called piˑδúkʰùŋ in Tataviam).

piʔiŋ, near Castaic reservoir.

ʔakavávya, probably the site of the main village in the area prior to founding of historic Piru (called *kaštu* in Ventureño Chumash and *El Temescal* in Spanish).

Etseng, on Piru Creek, above *ʔakavávya* (Kroeber 1915a:774); probably the same as the Zegueyne of the mission records.

Huyung, on Piru Creek, above Etseng (Kroeber 1915a:774); probably the same as the Juyubit of the mission records (for which other spellings are in Merriam 1968:97).

Tochonanga, near Newhall, mentioned in mission records (e.g., in Merriam 1968:101).

kwaruŋ, perhaps the Tataviam name for Elizabeth Lake, whose occupants apparently were called *mimiyam* by the Kitanemuk. The village of Quariniga mentioned in a Spanish diary of about 1808 (Cook 1960:256) may be the same place.

During the Mexican period, the Tataviam also lived at Küvung above Huyung (Kroeber 1915a:774), at La Liebre ranch or *hwiʔtahevya*, and at *tɨkkattsiŋ* (which may be a Tataviam name) on upper Castaic Creek. They also evidently lived with Chumash at Pastoria Creek during the American period.

On the basis of archeological and ethnohistoric information, Tataviam villages appear to have varied in size from large centers with perhaps 200 people to small settlements containing 10–15 people. The two or three large villages were maximally dispersed in relationship to one another; very small villages were adjacent to these larger villages, while intermediate-size villages of 20 to 60 people were dispersed in between the major centers. At the time of historic contact the total Tataviam population was probably less than 1,000, even if the Elizabeth Lake area is included in the estimates.

Culture

Archeological data indicate that foodstuffs were obtained and prepared in much the same way as neighboring groups. The primary vegetable foods in order of importance were the buds of *Yucca whipplei* (which were baked in earth ovens), acorns, sage seeds, juniper berries, and berries of islay (*Prunus ilicifolia*). Small mammals, deer, and perhaps antelope comprised the major animal foods.

There are no data on Tataviam social organization that might serve to differentiate them from Kitanemuk or Gabrielino. However, some interesting information that tends to suggest major similarities among Tataviam, Chumash, and Gabrielino ritual organization was recovered from Bowers's Cave between Newhall and Piru (Elsasser and Heizer 1963). This site contained ritual paraphernalia identical to that described ethnographically by Ventureño Chumash as being used by secret-society members (*ʔantap*) in the performance of ceremonies. Like their southern neighbors, the Tataviam also apparently held their annual mourning ceremony in the late summer or early fall and used open circular structures at the site. The Gaspar de Portolá expedition of 1769 recorded the presence of a number of people associated with a brush enclosure when they passed through the area in August (Palóu 1926). Pictographs in Tataviam territory also have strong similarities to those found in adjacent areas.

History

By 1810, virtually all the Tataviam had been baptized at San Fernando Mission. By the time secularization occurred in 1834, the descendants of most of the missionized Tataviam had married members of other groups, either at the mission or in the Tejon region. By 1916 the last speaker of the Tataviam language was dead, and any real opportunity for collecting firsthand information on this obscure group had vanished forever.

Synonymy

While the term the Tataviam applied to themselves is unknown, their Kitanemuk neighbors called them *táta·viam,* related to their words *ta·viyɨk* 'sunny hillside' and *ata·vihukwaʔ* 'he is sunning himself'. The upper Santa Clara River drains an area in which south-facing slopes are a dominant characteristic of the terrain. Thus *táta·viam* might be roughly translated as 'people facing the sun' or 'people of the south-facing slope'. The Vanyume name for them may have been the same, for Kroeber (1907b:140) recorded the term Tatavi-yam from a Vanyume woman long resident among the Mohaves as the equivalent for the Mohave name Gwalinyuokos-machi 'tule sleepers' who lived in tule houses on a large lake. These people Kroeber (1907b:136) suggested were "no doubt the Yokuts on Kern, Buena Vista, and possibly Tulare lakes." The Mohave word was recorded by Pamela Munro (personal communication 1975) as *kʷalʸəʔinʸolʸkʷəsmač* 'they sleep in the high tules', applied to the "Tehachapi Indians." Tehachapi is just north of the Kitanemuk area. However, given the near-identity of the Vanyume equivalent to the Kitanemuk term for the Tataviam, this may in fact have been the Mohave name for the same group. The San Fernando Valley Gabrielino called the Tataviam *turumkavet.*

When Kroeber (1915a) first recognized this group as a distinct entity, he applied what he said was their name in the neighboring (Ventureño) Chumash: Ataplili'ish. This term was recorded by Harrington as *ʔaɬaplilíʔiš,* a name for the Gabrielino (Bright 1975a). Kroeber (1925:556, 621) later reported that Ataplili'ish was the Ventureño Chumash name for the Gabrielino and perhaps other Takic groups. Probably because he now believed his earlier name to have too broad an application, Kroeber (1925:577, 614) then called the Tataviam by what he reported to be the specific Ventureño Chumash name for them, Alliklik. Harrington (1915, 1917, 1935:84) recorded *ʔaɬliʀliʀini* in Ynezeño Chumash as equivalent to Yawelmani Yokuts *ʔeʔewiyɨč* and Spanish *Pujadores,* all three meaning 'grunters, stammerers' and being synonyms for Tataviam.

A vocabulary of "Alliklik Chumash" was recorded by Merriam without a date or location; Beeler and Klar (1974) have identified this as Ventureño Chumash with borrowings from Kitanemuk and suggested that it represents the speech of at least the northernmost extension of the region Kroeber (1925:pls. 1, 48) labeled Alliklik. To avoid further confusion it seems preferable to apply the name Castac Chumash to this region, about which almost nothing else is known. Merriam (Beeler and Klar 1974) used the name "Kas-tak (Chumash)," Harrington recorded *kaštɨk* as a village name in Ventureño Chumash (Bright 1975a), and Spanish sources referred to the group as Cuabajai (Beeler and Klar 1974) and Castequeños. The coastal Ventureño Chumash name for the dialect of the Castac region was *ʔaɬkuʔli,* and for the inhabitants, *ʔiʔaɬkuʔli* (Harrington 1915).

Sources

Ethnographic notes collected by Harrington (1913, 1916a, 1917) from his Kitanemuk, Chumash, Gabrielino, and San Bernardino Mountains Serrano informants regarding the Tataviam are the basic source for this chapter.

The San Fernando Mission registers remain one of the most important sources of data yet to be investigated in regard to village size, distribution, and intermarriage patterns. The early observations of Garcés and the members of the Portolá expedition provide further important information on the Tataviam. Other data are probably present in archival materials.

Archeological data for much of the area were systematically gathered by Richard Van Valkenberg in the early 1930s; his notes are on file at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Important data were also obtained during salvage excavations at Castaic reservoir from January 1970 to June 1971. Under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Department of Parks and Recreation, data from archeological research carried out in the Vasquez Rocks area have been synthesized with the results of previous work done on the upper Santa Clara River (King, Smith, and King 1974).